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National Republican Club,  
Inc.

Addresses delivered at the  
testimonial dinner...

[New York]

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May 107

## ADDRESSES

Delivered at the

## TESTIMONIAL DINNER

Tendered to

HON. CHARLES D. HILLES

By the Members of the

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CLUB

On Saturday, May 13th, 1922,  
in the Club House,  
New York City.

ADDRESSES  
Delivered at the  
TESTIMONIAL DINNER  
Tendered to  
HON. CHARLES D. HILLES  
By the Members of the  
NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CLUB  
On Saturday, May 13th, 1922,  
in the Club House,  
New York City.

PRESIDENT NATHANIEL A. ELSBERG: Gentlemen, I ask you to rise with me and drink to the health of the Chief Executive of the Nation—embodiment, during his term of office, of the sovereignty of the people over whose government he presides, and entitled not only as such, but for his qualities of mind and heart as well, to the loyal support of every citizen of the Republic—the President of the United States! (Applause.)  
(The toast was responded to by all rising and singing "The Star-Spangled Banner.")

PRESIDENT ELSBERG: Fellow Members of the National Republican Club, distinguished guests, and gentlemen all: We have come here to honor the modest and splendid gentleman who sits at my right (Applause), an honor which he deserves not only from his fellow members of this Club, whose destinies he has guided with such signal success during the three years he has been its President, but which his devotion to the great Party to which we belong, the sacrifice of time and effort he has made in its behalf, and, above all, his character and record as man and citizen would make a tribute as fitting as deserved were it tendered by an even more numerous and, geographically speaking, more widely distributed assemblage than that which now, in genuine admiration and whole-hearted friendship, greets him as our guest of honor to-night. (Applause.)

That the Governor of this State, who has been detained, but will be with us in a very short time; the senior United States Senator (Applause)—and the junior Senator would be here, but

unfortunately is kept away by illness; the successor of our guest of honor, the present Chairman of the Republican National Committee (Applause); the President of the city's leading university, himself the First Vice-President of this Club (Applause); the leaders of our Party in the State and City, as well as the other distinguished gentlemen who are seated at the dais and about this room, should all come here with this single purpose in their minds, is itself a mark of confidence, respect and affection of which any man might well be proud. (Applause.) And yet we who know Charles D. Hilles, know that he will carry it—and whatever else fate may have in store for him in the future—with the same modesty, the same absence of pose and simplicity of bearing, the same unaffected humility of spirit, which have ever characterized him in the past, and which constitute not the least of his claims upon the admiration, the sympathy and the regard of his friends. (Applause.)

Somewhere, I think it is in *Cymbeline*, Shakespeare says: "Fortune brings in some boats that are not steered." And we all of us have known men for whose success in life there seems to be no visible explanation in either their mental or moral qualities. But, after all, is not that true of material success, of material values, alone? No rudderless craft ever steered itself—either with or without the aid of Fortune—into the harbor of men's hearts. To reach that haven, character still remains the only useful steering gear. (Applause.) And it is because he has that—no one who knows him doubts he has that—that we are proud to do him honor this evening.

Nor would I have you forget that he has certain unique claims to distinction. So far as known, he is the only native of Ohio at all active in politics who has not been a candidate for office under this administration (Laughter). Nay, more, he has been mentioned for more positions which he did not want, from the Cabinet of the President down, than any other man in the United States. And he has a unique record, too, or rather one that is almost unique, as a brave fighter against impossible odds, as a game and gallant loser, a record which in that respect runs parallel with and is equal to the record of his former chief, the man who, whatever differences there may have been in the past, now graces, to the satisfaction of all, the high office of Chief Justice of the United States. (Applause.) In good and bad times, in storm and sunshine, from his early activities for the helpless poor to his present activities—I had almost said for the helpless

poor politicians, but I really mean his present activities in the important realm of business to which he is devoting his abilities—Charles D. Hilles has broadened, of course, but in all the fundamentals has remained unchanged. And so we know that as he continues ahead on his journey through life, wherever it may lead him, no matter what the goal which he may reach, we shall still be able to say of him, in the beautiful words of another: "Whatever record leaps to light, it will not shame him."

Gentlemen, only a few more words from me before we proceed to the real speeches of the evening. We here—I suppose most of us, at any rate—belong to the Republican Party. We are met in the National Republican Club, to whose growth our friend has contributed so much in the last three years and whose continued usefulness as a public and Party agency we confidently expect. I have noticed a tendency to be apologetic for the record of our Party in the last fourteen months. And, of course, there is room for difference of opinion as to this or that item of accomplishment or non-accomplishment. But I venture to say that no Party since the Revolution confronted a situation comparable to that which President Harding and Congress faced fourteen months ago when they took office. With our country and the whole world disorganized by the effects of the war, with our industries in process of reorganization from war to peace conditions, with our railroads still suffering from the costly experiment of Government operation, with exchanges violently fluctuating as the result of European fiat money, with labor truculently shortsighted to its own best interests ever since the shameful surrender of the Democrats at the time of the enactment of the Adamson law—in short, with conditions bordering on chaos to contend with, we have in fourteen short months travelled very far indeed in the direction of restoring order, confidence and prosperity at home, while by the Arms Conference we have taken the most fateful and epoch-making step in our history towards insuring honorable peace with the nations of the world. (Applause.) There is nothing in that record to be ashamed of or to apologize for, nothing to be anything else than proud of—proud that we belong to the Party which, from Lincoln to Harding, has stood for the upbuilding, the prosperity and the development of our country. Some one has said that "Principles which are great enough to fight for are good enough to proclaim." Let us proclaim ours as well as fight for them, and we need have no fear. (Applause.)

And now, a particular pleasure is to be mine. Sixteen years ago, when I was myself completing the last of my eight years of service in the Senate of New York, a dramatic and unprecedented thing happened in Albany. In his second year of service, the New York State Assembly elected to the Speakership one of its youngest members, but one who even then united with the optimism and the charm of youth the sagacity and intellectual vigor of maturity. I shall never forget the impression I then formed of him, the impression of courage and force and ability, the opinion that he would travel far—to the high places in public life—an opinion which I have never changed. Five years Speaker of the Assembly, now in his eighth year of service in the Senate of the United States, he need yield to no other member of that body in all the essentials that go to make a great Senator. (Applause.) And I am not speaking in terms of exaggeration, I am but voicing the opinion of his own associates, the best of all tests. As his friends, as Republicans, as citizens of New York, we are proud of our senior Senator and of the place he has made for himself. (Applause.) And it is now my privilege to present him to you, the Honorable James W. Wadsworth, Jr. (Prolonged applause; all guests rising.)

HON. JAMES W. WADSWORTH: Mr. Toastmaster, Mr. Hilles, and Fellow Members of the National Republican Club: I count myself fortunate in being able to play hookey from Washington and come over here to this justly famous Club and join you in doing honor to your retiring President.

Our friend Hilles is going to hear a good many things said about him this evening. Knowing his modesty, which has been alluded to by the Toastmaster, I can understand his feelings upon this occasion. And if he won't listen, I am going to say just a word about him.

I think I can say on behalf of the Republican delegation in the Congress from the State of New York, that we have no more delightful political or personal association than that which we have with Charlie Hilles. Few men outside of what are termed as political circles realize the importance in our national political machinery of the position of a National Committeeman. It is the function and the duty of a National Committeeman to keep in touch with the development of national politics, especially with the goings on at the Federal Capital as they relate to and affect the fortunes of the Party as a national Party. It has been my

pleasure, and the pleasure of my colleagues from this State adhering to the Republican faith, to be in constant touch with the guest of honor.

I do not know how I can better describe his characteristics, his principal and outstanding characteristics about which we have learned not only since the Harding administration took office, but for many, many months before that, than to say that he is loyalty itself. (Applause.) I say quite frankly to you and here in his presence, in spite of the embarrassment which it may bring to him, that it has been a joy and an inspiration for the Republican representatives at Washington to have as their National Committeeman a man whose judgment is so sound, whose motives are so beyond all reproach, whose ideals are so high, and whose great hope and ambition is that the Republican administration now in power at Washington, both in the executive branch and in the legislative branch, shall be a credit to the Party as a national Party and a benefit to the people of the United States. (Applause.)

I have never discovered in him any desire to grind an axe. I have always found in him, and my colleagues have always found in him, an earnest desire to help, to work overtime—and he has worked overtime for this Party of ours, my friends, for many years, never seeking a reward—to help us, to guide us, to inform us of Republican sentiment in this State, and to do it unselfishly and with a shrewdness and soundness of judgment which is a healthy thing, and which might well be better emphasized in many of our political activities. (Applause.)

And so I say that this great Club of ours is doing itself credit when it shows this appreciation of the services of Charlie Hilles. I know that the National Chairman, who sits on my left, will bear me out in this testimony in his behalf.

These are times, my friends, when loyalty to ideals and to convictions is needed in this country of ours. We are not without them, but we have none too much of them. These are times when every Republican who believes in the principles of the Party might well devote himself to serious thought, not only as to the immediate future of the Party and its success in the coming Congressional elections, but also as to what effect the success of the Party may have upon the destiny of the nation. We are living in what may be termed abnormal times, and the abnormality is not confined to this country alone, but is characteristic of world

conditions. The Toastmaster has said something about the record of the Congress. Perhaps it would not be out of place for me to make a few observations along that line, not in detail, not in an effort to recite to you dully and dryly things which have been done which may be termed constructive, but to lay before you certain conditions, psychological, political, economical, which have confronted the Congress and the administration since it took power on March 4, 1921.

The American people to-day are going through a curious and interesting phase in their political and psychological development. The cry and order of the day is for organization. And I mean by that not merely political organization, but the organization of groups of people all over the country, each group organized and indulging in propaganda to the best of their respective abilities for the carrying out of some project to be expressed generally in legislation to be passed by the Federal Congress. And we have reached that stage in the development of organizations when some of them are establishing permanent headquarters in the City of Washington.

I call to mind that the American Federation of Labor, for example, and I do not do this in criticism, has acquired for itself a great office building in Washington, manned permanently the year around by a large and active staff, intent upon legislation along certain lines. And the International Union of Machinists have but recently acquired a great building in Washington, not as yet finished, I understand, but soon to be occupied and manned in a similar fashion, all intent upon impressing their ideas and their will, if possible, upon the Congress. The farm organizations likewise have opened permanent headquarters at Washington, resulting, perhaps some of you believe, and I think correctly, in the organization of what has become famous as the farm bloc in the Congress, an organization of which I am not a member, although farming is my business. I have not been invited to become a member. (Laughter and applause.) And our women friends, with whom I had certain political acquaintances in the year 1920 (Laughter and applause), have established themselves under the auspices of the Women's Party, just across the Square on the eastern side of the Capitol, in a permanent headquarters to be opened very shortly and to be known as "The Watch Tower."

And so you will see that the activities of the Congress and the Government generally are to be carried on under the microscope from now on, and all organizations, and these are but a

few, are directing their efforts to influence legislation at Washington. And I venture to say, without criticizing any of those I have mentioned or any of many others that I might mention and which may come to your minds, that no one of them represents a majority of the people of the United States. (Applause.)

Many of them propose desirable things; some of them propose, I think, foolish things. But whether desirable or foolish, the significant part of this whole movement is that we have tended in recent years toward government by minorities. (Applause.) I think that is due to the evolution of American politics in the last ten or fifteen years, and is one of the most significant developments to which our attention is drawn. Legislative bodies not only at Washington, but in several States, have found themselves brought to the point on more than one occasion of yielding to the insistence and organized and skillfully conducted demands of minority groups, and the consequent enactment of statutes, followed by regulations generally placed within the control of a bureaucratic department on topics with which the majority of the people of the United States are not conversant. And, speaking generally, and without any thought of producing discussion or prejudice, I would like to direct your attention, and probably this is not the first time you have had your attention directed to this tendency—I would like to direct your attention to this very powerful tendency that exists not only with respect to the Federal legislative body, but to the legislative bodies of the States, and to say to you, as Republicans, that it is high time that that loyalty to Party principles, expressed nationally rather than provincially, which our guest of honor has evidenced upon so many occasions, is a pretty good kind of loyalty for Republicans the nation over to give adherence to. (Applause.)

The Toastmaster has said something about the difficulties which confronted this administration and this Congress when it came into power. Why, Mr. Toastmaster, I do not want to say anything unkind about our predecessors. I served four years in the minority in the Senate, which included the war period, and then two years in the majority in the Senate when our majority was but one. Now, thank heaven, I am of the majority in the Senate, when the majority is 24. But it is true, Sir, and I think history will so relate, that when we finally secured a majority in both Houses of Congress, and with it, of course, the Presidency, by an unprecedented majority of seven million votes, we did

encounter a condition of affairs which was not only perplexing, but chaotic. The expenditures of the Federal Government, of course, had been swollen to unheard of figures. That was partly due, of course, to the war, and the aftermath of war. We were in an unsettled condition, and, unfortunately for the country, no steps had been taken prior to our advent to power towards a sensible and sane reconstruction, as the term has been used, although I prefer to use the term readjustment, of our political and economical conditions when peace should come. With the absence of any plan whatever for readjustment, we found ourselves on March 4, 1921, with the foreign affairs and many of the domestic affairs of the United States in a condition of chaos. And when things are in a condition of chaos, no matter who is to blame, and even if no one is to blame, the tendency of public sentiment is to hope and believe and to demand that black shall be converted into white by legislative enactment over night. And it cannot be done. (Applause.) Too many people have believed that all the ills in political and business life can be cured by legislation. We would have obviated many of our ills if we had not legislated so much. (Applause.)

But with the world in chaos, with Europe economically prostrate, with the demand for our goods steadily decreasing in foreign markets, with the abnormal condition of foreign exchange, the inability of those war-worn peoples to buy from us, it was not strange, indeed it was inevitable, that a condition commonly and popularly known as "hard times" should overtake the industries and the agriculture of the United States. The thing I am thankful for, and I am sure every business man who knows how a dollar is earned is thankful for, is that we did not embark along the road of crazy legislation in our efforts to better conditions. (Applause.)

You know that in certain circles an assertion of that kind is not particularly popular, because so many people believe you can change economic and inevitable conditions by the mere passage of a statute. I am glad, Sir, that no proposal was considered seriously by the Republican Party in 1921 comparable with the proposals made by the Democratic Party in 1896. For had the Republican Party, under the stress and strain of these unfortunate conditions, yielded to demagogic demands and unsound theories and destructive proposals, we would have made the condition of this country infinitely worse. And by resisting

error—and somehow or other, Mr. Chairman, I believe that one of the greatest things the Republican Party has done since away back in 1860 is to resist error—by resisting error, had we done nothing else, and we have done much else, we have saved this country from a fate infinitely worse than most of us appreciate.

When we took power, we were at war with Germany. We had no relations with that country, nor her ally, Austria. The situation which we inherited from the outgoing administration was one that was actually absurd. The war in effect had ceased; our soldiers had come home, the great Army had been demobilized, a Peace Treaty had been written, but certain of its provisions were so obnoxious, so intolerable, that the Senate of the United States could not subscribe to their terms, and with the obstinacy which characterized the proposals which were laid before the Senate, and which could not be broken down or changed, the country found itself in the ridiculous position of being out of a war but still at war.

Well, we have made peace with Germany and with Austria, and we have made treaties of peace with both of them, and without sacrificing a single legitimate American interest, and retaining also every right which came to the United States as the result of the Armistice of November 11, 1918, we have put this country in a position of self-respect in the face of all the nations of the earth. (Applause.)

I imagine that most of the gentlemen in this room are taxpayers. If you do not pay taxes directly, you do it indirectly. And I think not many of you will deny that taxes, before they are paid, have to be earned. A good many alleged statesmen for centuries back have stated that it is possible and have even proposed that governments—

(Here Governor Miller took his seat amidst prolonged applause.)

SENATOR WADSWORTH: I was making this observation, my friends, that for many centuries certain alleged statesmen have proposed and contended that taxes can be levied in such a way that only a few of the people concerned will pay them; they can be levied in such a way that great masses will not feel the burden at all. Efforts along that line have been made for centuries, and have never succeeded, for no matter how you contrive a tax, no matter how skilfully you draft your tax statute and impose it upon the businesses selected to bear the burden, that



burden sooner or later trickles down through the mass and lays its hand upon the shoulders of every man, woman and child in the country. And if there is one thing that we should be sound about and think about seriously, it is the question of Federal taxation and what it means to the men and women who work for a living; none of them escapes its burdens. They can never escape the burdens of taxation. The burden may not hit them directly, but it hits them indirectly, just as sure as fate. And no greater crime can be committed by a government against a people than to impose overburdensome taxation upon those who work. (Applause.)

Now, we have tackled that proposition in a definite and decided effort to reduce Federal expenditures. Five or six years ago we paid no attention to the sums being spent by the Federal Government. There was a little complaint seven, eight or ten years ago when the Congress had become a billion dollar Congress. We are now a four billion dollar Congress, and the people have waked up to the importance of Federal appropriations, to the duplication that exists among the Federal departments, to this constant tendency for the Federal Government to assume new functions, take on new burdens, spend more money, and tax the people to pay for it. And in a desperate and, I think, intelligent effort, desperate as well as intelligent, we have established a budget system, and for the first time in the history of the United States it is now possible for the American people, if they will but pay attention to the reports of the Director of the Budget, to strike a balance between income and outgo on the part of the Federal Government. And for the first time in the history of the government the Congress itself has at its disposal the complete figures and estimates showing the contemplated expenditures and the contemplated income.

For the first time we are organizing a fiscal system at Washington which is comparable to the fiscal system practised by every sound business organization in this city. It is not a dramatic achievement. It is not conducive to headlines. You cannot make much of an oration about it, but it means more, not only to what is known as "business," but to the average citizen, man and woman, who works for a living, than anything that has been done affecting taxation and fiscal management for a hundred years. It is in its infancy; it is bound to be improved; its benefits are already evident, and it is going to save to the men and

women who work millions and millions of dollars in the years that are to come.

Now we have got before us an exceedingly difficult thing which I am going to allude to very briefly, and that is the tariff. Last night at about a quarter of ten a colleague of mine in the Senate, the junior Senator from California, brought an old volume of the Statutes of the United States to my attention, and very early in that volume, which contains the laws passed by the First Congress, I think, he pointed out the first tariff bill passed in this country. It covers just two pages. It may be of interest to my friend Ralph Day to know that there was a ten cent duty on Jamaica rum—(Laughter and applause.) (Cries of "Give it to us again!")—which seemed to me entirely reasonable (Laughter and applause). But compare that first tariff bill, covering but two pages of print in the Statutes of the United States, with the modern tariff bill. I forget how many pages there are in this pending bill, but I know that the House tariff bill, as reported to the Senate by the Senate Finance Committee, suggests 2,048 amendments. We are holding night sessions, and we intend to continue holding night sessions until the Democratic filibuster wears itself out and we will whip that bill into shape, and in my humble judgment we will pass it through all the processes of Senate deliberation and of deliberation in conference in the month of July, and we will place upon the statute books a bill which reflects the Republican doctrine of an adequate protective tariff. (Applause.)

The task is a huge one. Its ramifications and complications are immense. We are pulled and hauled, naturally—I make no complaint—from every conceivable direction, in the fixing of these rates. But I think there is no doubt whatsoever—I know there is, no doubt whatsoever—that the Republican majorities in both Houses of Congress are intent upon passing such a bill, and that they will pass it. So that industry in America, and the American workingman, will know where he stands in this matter of competition with the workingmen and industries of Europe.

I think I will indulge for just a moment in conclusion in a comment upon another phase of political life in Washington which may be of interest to you. I know there have been complaints—I am well aware of them—of the slowness in accomplishing the solution of these tremendous tasks, and I have only referred to one or two of them; there are dozens of them; and I can well

understand the impatience of many people. But I want to call to your attention what might be termed a comparatively new situation in the Federal legislative body, at least the effect of this situation in my humble judgment has now become apparent to a conspicuous degree for the first time. I refer to the effect of the system of direct nominations upon the activity of a legislative body supposedly controlled by a Party majority. Ten or fifteen years ago we were reasonably certain what the two great political parties in this country stood for, nationally. Our Democratic friends nationally organized stood for certain definite things. We did not agree with them. The Republican Party, nationally organized and represented in the Congress, as were the Democrats, stood for certain definite policies and principles with which we agreed. At that time members of the Congress, both in the Senate and in the lower House, were nominated by Republican or Democratic conventions in their Congressional districts, or in their respective States, and in those conventions the principles and policies of their respective parties were succinctly set forth and were comparatively uniform all over the nation. And if a Republican was nominated for Congress in a Congressional district in the State of Maine, it was almost certain that he would run for election in his district on the same platform as a Republican nominated for Congress in the State of Oregon. That is no longer the case. With the general abolition of the convention system of nominations, accompanied by platform and principle declarations, we have gone to the direct nomination method of electing members of Congress, Senators and members of the House. What is the result? Provincialism instead of nationalism in our Party politics. (Applause.)

I have heard criticisms of the leadership of the two Houses as at present conducted. I challenge any leader or any group of leaders to lead effectively a majority organization, if you would call it such, in any legislative body where the members of that majority have each run upon their own personal hobbies and issues in their respective districts. (Applause.) It cannot be done. With the injection of the direct nominating primary into 434 Congressional districts in both parties, and into 96 Senatorial contests, the inevitable tendency, the irresistible tendency is that the candidates for nomination, both in the Republican and in the Democratic primaries, make an especial and personal appeal to their respective localities in an effort to win. And you will find

time after time two candidates for Congress in adjoining districts, candidates for the same political nomination, Republican or Democratic, as the case may be, running upon personal platforms so different one from the other that when they are nominated and later elected and take their place in the House of Representatives, or in the Senate, you would not know they belonged to the same political Party. (Applause.)

I point this out as emphatically as I may, because I believe first that no national party, Democratic or Republican, can conduct, in a legislative sense, the affairs of this great nation of one hundred millions of people in an orderly manner, devoted to a few simple principles which the people of the entire nation understand, unless it thinks nationally instead of provincially. (Applause.)

I bear no criticism against anybody, but it is not strange, in view of this situation which breaks up cohesion from the national standpoint and localizes the issues upon which national legislators run—it is not strange that it is difficult for any political Party represented by a majority in the Congress or in the Legislature of any State, to exhibit cohesive organization and teamwork, and the doing of business properly. And I think we shall have difficulty of this kind, this lack of cohesion, this lack of devotion to a few principles, just so long as we perpetuate in our Congressional districts and in our several States that political philosophy, if you may call it such, which encourages men to run on a provincial issue instead of a national issue. And I, for one, rejoice, and I assume that the sentiments I am here expressing, coming from me, are not new to you—I have never believed in this direct primary—I for one rejoice that the State of New York, by legislative enactment, has taken the first step forward, not backward, forward, in restoring to a convention nominating system the nomination of Governor, United States Senators, State elective officers and State judicial officers. (Applause.)

The thing is fundamental, in my judgment. I notice that some other States are beginning to take the same steps that New York has taken. The people are beginning to realize that governments should not be run upon personal issues, but upon national issues. And no matter what Party is in power, whether it be the Republican Party or the Democratic Party, the country is the safer if that Party thinks and speaks and acts nationally. (Applause.)

Now, my friends, I have kept you here longer this evening than I intended to. Once more let me express my appreciation and my gladness at being able to get here on this hasty trip, pay a little tribute to my good friend, Charlie Hilles, and indulge in these observations. On former occasions the members of this Club have been exceedingly patient with me, and I thank them for this additional evidence of their patience. (Applause.)

PRESIDENT ELSBERG: We are honored in having with us to-night the presiding head of the Republican Party as represented by the Republican National Committee, and he has consented to say a few words to us. I have very great pleasure in introducing the Honorable John T. Adams, Chairman of the Republican National Committee. (Applause.)

HON. JOHN T. ADAMS: Mr. President and Gentlemen: I am not going to make a speech. You may have noticed that this is an off year in politics. But Republicans can find some comfort in Mr. Dooley's philosophy, when he said, "Mr. Hennessey, I have been looking up the whole alcohol question. I have considered its pros and its cons, and I have come to the conclusion that a wee nip once in a while is good for a man. It helps him think extremely well of himself without being hampered with the facts." (Laughter.)

About ten years ago I was drafted by Mr. Hilles for a little political task in Iowa. Ever since that time he has assumed to be my political boss, and I have rather enjoyed the relationship. The National Republican Club and others of its kind throughout the country give to national Republicanism character and stability. This Club has had a remarkable growth under the leadership of our friend whom we are here to honor. The result of his zeal and energy in behalf of this splendid organization we see quite evident here to-night.

I am pleased, as one long associated with Mr. Hilles in national Republican affairs, to bear witness to his wisdom as a counselor, his ability as a leader, and, above all, to his fidelity as a friend. Fortunate is the Party that can command in places of responsibility the loyal, unselfish service of such men as Charles Dewey Hilles, and fortunate is the country in which men of his character and calibre give freely of their time and means and thought to practical politics. (Applause.)

Long life to the National Republican Club, health and good fortune to its retiring President! And may the Republican

Party, as an agency of public service, keep true to its fundamental policies and its traditions! (Applause.)

PRESIDENT ELSBERG: The bitter cynicism of Disraeli that "Politics is the art of preventing the people from knowing how they are governed" may have applied to his own time, but has no place in this day and age, and surely in our own country its only surviving application is to those few municipal governments or misgovernments of which, unfortunately, our city is one of the most conspicuous examples. The greatest Americans have been those who, as Lincoln said, trusted the people, who were convinced that right wins in the end, that abuse and misrepresentation bring their own correctives, and that demagogic appeals to prejudice and passion cannot stand the test of ultimate popular judgment.

The Governor of this State needs no literary or journalistic adviser to tell him what to say. (Applause.) Nor any Hirshfield to sputter his defense. Seeker for the truth and right, for the best interests of the people, rather than the evanescent applause of the ignorant and dishonest, here he is—fit representative of the intelligence, the character, the sober judgment and the patriotic ideals of this great State of ten million people, Governor Nathan L. Miller. (Prolonged applause.)

HON. NATHAN L. MILLER: Mr. President, Senator Wadsworth, Mr. Adams, and Fellow Members of the National Republican Club, and Guests:

I should be unfeeling were I not touched by the too eulogistic introduction of Senator Elsberg and by your response. It is a great pleasure for me to be here at this, the first opportunity I have had of meeting the members of the Club since I have been Governor of the State. You noticed what happened both to Senator Elsberg and myself when Senator Wadsworth referred to rum. (Laughter.) But I assure you that that was not due to shock; it was due to a wide hole in this platform—not the kind of a platform that we are going to go to the people on this Fall, because there will be no holes in it. (Applause.)

I certainly should not have been late to any function designed to do honor to my friend Charles Hilles, but for an imperative and very sad duty, to pay the last tribute of respect which we can pay on earth to a departed friend, Comptroller Wendell. And just coming from his funeral, I am minded to say that his life was an example of loyal service, loyal service to his

friends, to his Party, and to the duties of whatever public position he held. And due to those traits he rose from a subordinate position in the Comptroller's office to become its chief, and has now suddenly been taken away, leaving as the result of those qualities a host of friends all over this State, the greatest possession that one can have on earth, and the most permanent legacy that one can leave.

No less commanding duty, as I said, could have caused me to be even late to this function. Because it is a rare privilege to join in doing honor to such a man as Charles Hilles, because he is the type of whom we need more on the firing line in the Republican Party. (Applause.)

Not for place or position, or personal advancement or profit, has Charles Hilles always been found on the firing line, but solely in the discharge really of a public duty, in the support of principles, the principles of his Party which he believed and which we believe to be for the best interests of this State and country. Unlike the Democratic Party, our does not thrive merely on promises and jobs. Our successes are won by standing for principle, and as the result of performance. Indeed, the most notable accomplishment of the Republican Party throughout its history has been the espousal of causes upon what, at the outset, was the unpopular side. But believing in principle, the Party has had the courage and confidence to appeal not to fleeting fancy, passion or prejudice, but to intelligence, and that appeal ultimately has thus far prevailed, as it will continue to prevail, though of course in popular government there will be shifts of opinion. But the Republican Party will not steer its course by seeking to catch the fitful breezes which come from mere passing opinion or fancy. It is not a Party of expediency and it has succeeded and will continue to succeed only by remaining a Party of principles.

And so when a man like Charles Hilles devotes his time, his talents and his efforts to the service of his Party, he is rendering a public service of a most exalted and unselfish kind. And my hope is that his example and his influence may encourage others like him to follow his example.

We are facing a State campaign which I suppose will naturally be conducted somewhat upon State issues—though we shall not need to run away from national issues, stated as they have been stated here to-night by Senator Wadsworth. We can approach that campaign with confidence, because we can make it

not upon excuses for non-performance, but upon a record of promises performed. (Applause.)

In the last campaign, so far as State issues figured at all, the campaign was made largely by our opponents upon excuses for what had not been done. The people were told that without completely reorganizing our State government by constitutional amendment, it would be impossible to stop the mounting cost of government, which had then risen to alarming proportions. We said that we would stop the mounting cost of government. And in the first year of the term now drawing to a close, seventy millions of dollars was eliminated from the budget requests, and ten millions net reduction was made as compared with the appropriations of the preceding year. There was no doubt last year that the reduction had been made. The wailing and the gnashing of teeth was so loud that our Democratic friends recognized the fact that a very great reduction had been made, and they said it had been made at the expense of service, that the service would be impaired, and that it would result in great deficiencies which would have to be made up the following year.

Well, the service of no legitimate State activity was impaired. On the contrary, efficiency was promoted. There were some activities which were not impaired, but were eliminated, and I do not believe there is a person in the State to-day, except those who thereby lost jobs, who can tell what those activities were accomplishing, or who have missed in the slightest their absence. So far from there being deficiency to make up this year, the good work was continued, and still further reduction was made, and now our Democratic friends are saying that it was all bunk, that there has not been any reduction. And they base that claim upon an appeal which they make to the individual. They say his taxes have not been lowered, and I guess that is so in most parts of the State. In the two years, however, the fact is that in round numbers twenty-eight millions of dollars of direct taxes have been lifted from the shoulders of the taxpayers in the State. That was more than it cost to run the State government twenty years ago. The percentage of New York City of that amount would have gone very far toward making up the deficit which an incompetent administration created in the care of the schools of the city, or rather in the neglect of the schools of the city. But that sum was absorbed by the gross waste and incompetence of the kind of administration which Senator Elsberg has so felicitously

described. And so our friends can say to the individual, "Your taxes are no less," but to the intelligent, who will know the facts, they cannot succeed in their deceit, because the responsibility will be placed where it belongs.

It is charged that many of the State's activities have been neglected. But that reduction has been accomplished, and at the same time larger appropriations have been given for those needs of the State which are necessarily expanding. More has been given for education by several millions; more has been given for good roads; more has been given for the care of institutions; more has been given for public works. In your own city eleven millions of dollars last year, and this together, was appropriated for the construction of the vehicular tunnel to connect Manhattan Island with New Jersey, and if they can ever eliminate politics from the other side of the river I hope they will speedily complete that tunnel. A million and a half, to mention another single item, was given this year for a necessary public improvement here to relieve the congestion on your waterfront, to effect a needed improvement of navigation of the Harlem River, necessary not alone for the commerce of this port, but as well for that which comes down from our Barge Canal.

I cannot go into too much detail in these matters, and I know, as Senator Wadsworth reminded us, that these are dry subjects, not fit for after-dinner speeches, and not suitable for headlines for the newspapers. Real achievements rarely are.

Senator Wadsworth has referred to the national budget. We were told by our opponents that it was impossible to have a budget system in this State without a constitutional amendment. And, as you know, there had been great conflict between legislative and executive authority on the question of the budget. Well, we tried to see what could be accomplished this year and last by effecting a budget through co-operation of the two branches of the government. And, as at Washington, so in this State, we have set up a budget organization, a permanent budget organization, which we are completing and will have pretty well developed before the end of this year, certainly before it is necessary to submit another budget to the Legislature, as the result of which we shall not only be able to make a business statement which will enable the people, if, as Senator Wadsworth has said, they take the trouble to read, to know how their government is being administered, what the income and the outgo is, but which

I believe will have the effect of vastly improving the public service, by the introduction of business methods in the public administration, by properly standardizing positions in the State service so as to improve morale, increase efficiency, as well as to save the taxpayers money.

We did another thing which there is very little poetry in, very little has been said about it, but I expect to see great results flow from it. We have established a business purchasing system for all of the vast purchases of the State. It was not an easy thing to do, I can tell you, but it has been done. I mean to say, a foundation has been laid and a business organization is now being created so that the State may buy at wholesale its large requirements, instead of at retail, as it now does. Measures have been passed to encourage agriculture, to advance the cause of education, to improve industrial conditions, and to safeguard the conditions of those who labor. A foundation has been laid for the development of the vast natural resources of the State, its water power. And to mention one other subject, about which our opponents have talked a great deal, welfare. I shall not go into the subject in detail, but I venture to say that the most practical, comprehensive and far-reaching welfare legislation was placed upon the statute books by the last Legislature that has ever even been proposed before. Instead of engaging in sob talk, which has largely characterized the efforts of those who have been attempting to create political capital by appealing to humanitarian sentiments, actual accomplishments have been made and actual provision has been made to advance actual, real social welfare.

We have done some things which have agitated the people of this city to some extent. They have been unpopular in some quarters, and, judging by the election last Fall, with the mass of the electorate in this town. But I think that the intelligent people of this city are coming to realize the difference between talk and accomplishment. (Applause.)

After fifty years of neglect, real provision has been at last made, and a solid foundation laid for the proper development of the port and terminal facilities of this great harbor. (Applause.) And we are told by the City Hall that all that will do will be to develop the Hackensack Meadows. Well, as I have gone about this town, it has occurred to me that that is about the most suitable place there is for freight yards, much more suitable than Broadway.

The Transit Commission's work is now being unfolded, and evidently there are some things which even those at the City Hall are able to understand, for at least there seems to have been some action stimulated there. And while nothing approaching real co-operation appears to be in sight, yet there are hopeful signs. And if an aroused public opinion, which the great necessities of this great center must create, can make itself felt, it may help still further to stimulate that needed comprehension. For if there is anything which the people of this great center have need of more than any other one thing it is for better and greater service in the means of transportation. And I believe that you are going to have that, and that the foundation has been laid to fill that great need of the people of this community.

I cannot enter into any detailed discussion of any of these matters here. I have undertaken in this sketchy way to mention only a few of the high spots which constitute the record of achievement upon which the Party must go to the polls this Fall for approval of the electorate. I think, perhaps I am prejudiced, that you can make that appeal with confidence both upon State and National issues. (Applause.)

As I said, it has been a very great pleasure for me to meet the members of the Club. I cannot understand how almost two years of my incumbency of office have gone by without my having had an earlier opportunity. I am certainly indebted to this occasion, and it has given a greater pleasure than I can express to join with you in paying a deserved tribute to the guest of the evening, your retiring President. I hope that the Republican Party and the country will long have the benefit of his services, and I trust that the country may have the benefit of his services in high official position. (Applause.)

**PRESIDENT ELSBERG:** Before calling upon the guest of honor, for whom we are all waiting, there is a little function to be performed, and I know of no one who could perform it more gracefully than a former honored President of this Club, whose eloquent words we have had frequent occasion to hear and enjoy in the past. I call upon our friend, the Honorable James R. Sheffield. (Applause.)

**HON. JAMES R. SHEFFIELD:** Mr. President, Mr. Hilles, Governor Miller, Senator Wadsworth, Mr. Adams, Guests and Fellow Members of the National Republican Club:

As this is an occasion in honor of one who has been your President, I want to begin by also paying my tribute of respect and loyalty to one who is your President. (Applause.)

It is our first public opportunity, and the Club is much to be congratulated on its selection for this office of a man of the type and character of Nathaniel A. Elsberg. (Applause.)

After listening to the inspiring words of the brave and brilliant Governor of this State (Applause), and the brave and brilliant Senator from this State (Applause), you may well feel that the statute of limitations should run against any remarks from a mere private in the ranks.

So, having no message of an official character from official station, I shall very, very briefly attempt to translate to the honored guest of the evening some of the things you feel and think about him.

Of course, the presence of these distinguished men who have come from a distance, and of this great gathering, is of itself a tribute greater than words. What we say here will be soon forgotten, but the service he rendered here will stand as an imperishable monument to his devotion, unselfishness and wisdom in the direction of the affairs of this great Club.

To be the President of this Club is a distinguished honor, but it carries with it great responsibility and great opportunity. It was indeed fortunate that three years ago your choice fell upon one who had proved his capacity for leadership and loyalty to the principles for which you were founded and the Party whose name you proudly bear. As Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, as Secretary to the President of the United States, as Chairman of the Republican National Committee, and now a member of it, and I think my good friend, Mr. Adams, will agree that he is one of its most influential members, he came to the office of President of this Club with a proved capacity to govern and to unite with you in making it count for the right and true things in this community and in the politics of the County, the State and the Nation. And during the years that he held it, I care not and I know not how many men he put into the Club, although I am told it is practically a record-breaking achievement—I do care and I know the priceless things he put into the membership and life of the Club.

Mr. Hilles, it is not merely on account of the things that you have done either in your official capacity toward the Party or in your official relationship to this great Club that these men have gathered to do you honor. It is not for your achievements, but for the man you are, that we are here. You do not like in-

sincerity, because there is none of it in your nature. You do not like crooked politics, because all your life you have been straight and clean. You do not like to help men in order to help yourself, because you are not built that way. Your service has never been for self-aggrandisement in any political action you have ever taken. Your character stands as a patent of nobility among men. Truth and honor have been the outstanding characteristics of your life. And it is for these things that these men have come to testify to the place you hold in their lives and their hearts.

And in order that words spoken and soon forgotten may not be the whole reason of the coming, they have decided to offer some material reminder which may carry on after the hours of this dinner have passed even out of memory, and so "for remembrance's sake," and very appropriately, as it seems to me, they have chosen a loving cup. (Applause.)

No Volstead Law will ever prevent the filling to the very brim of those most stimulating of all things, love and admiration. And if, perchance, there be added at some time for good measure the product of the sun-kissed vineyards of France, it is only to remind you that those sparkling bubbles in these days are gems of purest ray and to recall the fact that "the jewels of the universe lie in the hearts of men." (Applause.)

These you have won for yourself, and I pledge you in this cup the continued love and admiration and respect of the membership of this Club and all that this goodly company represents. And on their behalf, and in their name, I wish for your future the success and happiness that should be yours to match up with your past, which has been so honorable and great. (Applause.)

PRESIDENT ELSBERG: If it were possible to add anything to the tribute Mr. Sheffield has paid, it could only be by reading the inscription on this cup, every word of which I think you will agree is true:

"Presented to Honorable Charles D. Hilles by the National Republican Club, in appreciation of his services as its President during the last three years, and as a token of the esteem and affection of his fellow members." (Applause.)

Mr. Hilles! (Applause.)

HON. CHARLES D. HILLES: Mr. President and My Friends:

Senator Elsberg will bear me witness that he concealed from me successfully the fact that Mr. Sheffield would speak and that

there would be a presentation of a superb souvenir. He told me in detail what the program was, but he omitted reference to this part of the ceremony. But I shall not conceal from him nor from you the fact that I am delighted with this part of the ceremony, even though it is almost overwhelming. You swept me off my feet before I was on my feet, if I may use that Hibernianism.

There comes to me now an incident in connection with the maiden trip of the "Aquitania." That great ship came up the Bay and was eased into her berth without the aid of tugs, as easily and skilfully as a child guides a toy boat through the waters of a bath tub. On the night of that event a semi-public dinner was given at which the Captain of that ship was a guest, and very much to his surprise he was thrown overboard by the Toastmaster. And, rising, he said, "Well, well, I am in a fog now, all right, all right. I am in a fog now, all right." And then he sat down. (Laughter.)

I am also in a fog, but I am human and not unappreciative.

I know now how he felt then. I shall cherish this cup and these more than generous tributes as long as I live.

I am taking refuge behind a manuscript to-night, knowing full well that it is a non-conductor, not alone from force of habit, but also because of a desire to be free to enjoy the evening down to this point (Laughter) without giving thought to my own modest contribution to the speaking program. It is an altogether selfish desire, born of a series of sad experiences in like circumstances in the past, when almost invariably I was preoccupied to the extent of complete isolation while others were speaking. I didn't hear what any of my classmates said on the day of our graduation. I had a miserable time at my own wedding, and on a dozen other occasions which are personal landmarks I suffered torture. I have been determined that to-night I would keep my ears and the windows of my mind open.

You elected me President of the Club three years ago. I was deeply grateful then for the opportunity to further serve the Republican Party in a useful field. We have worked together in close formation, as an harmonious unit, and have made progress. Your course toward me has uniformly been characterized by extreme consideration, notwithstanding the fact that in recent months certain exacting Party duties in other directions have made liberal drafts upon my time. You have placed me under an

added and a lasting debt of gratitude by making my retirement the occasion for this dinner. I appreciate your kind thought and the generous manner in which you have expressed it to-night. It may be, of course, that it was felt that the time had arrived for another Club dinner, and that you decided to hang it on me, very much as in the days before *The Amendment* it was said that any excuse for taking a drink was a valid excuse for that ceremonial. But whatever the controlling idea in the minds of the committee which incited it to action, you have opened the door and I feel justified in entering with a few personal observations.

Three years ago the Club had at least four outstanding troublesome problems, namely, a deficit of a few thousand dollars; rising current expense costs, incident to the period of inflation; need for extensive repairs to the Club House, and the approaching compulsory abolition of the bar, an institution which, whatever generic objections it may have excited, and however it may have acted upon the moral feelings of the external world, filled one laudable and one utilitarian function for the Club. It encouraged the assembling daily of groups of gentlemen in a spirit of good fellowship to promote good citizenship, and it provided a net revenue of \$1,000 per month. The second of these functions was a form of indirect and invisible taxation—a consumer's tax—which was unobjectionable to the membership, and was a never-failing source of revenue.

We have passed the peak of inflated costs; the Club House has been repaired and refurnished at a cost in excess of \$60,000; we have more adequately equipped ourselves to meet the increasing demands upon the Club's facilities and service; we have made the transition from the wet era to the dry era even though we have not done so uncomplainingly, and the deficit of three years ago has been paid off. However, a new deficit has recently been erected in place of the old. These deficits seem to rise, Phoenix-like, from their own ashes. It gives one a sensation such as the housewife experienced when she discharged an unsatisfactory cook and got another one. Deficits of political organizations, like the poor, we have with us always, but while they are produced naturally in politics—are indigenous—they are not unknown in the world outside of politics. We meet them on every hand, in every walk of life, and one who has become a specialist in them hears all sorts of ingenious and plausible plans for their elimination. I hark back to an early day when the Treasurer of

the African Baptist Sunday School sought a loan of \$100 with which to discharge a deficit, explaining that certain persons were accusing him of using church funds and that he wanted to shake the money in their faces and prove to them that they were liars.

There was another impressive incident of that early period—the application for a loan of \$200 with which to discharge a deficit of \$100, coupled with a proposal to leave \$100 of the proceeds of the loan as security for the other hundred. It was an attractive, though primitive refunding device, and one which I fancy would appeal to a certain group in the Congress as sound economics. A woman who is taking her enfranchisement seriously asked me to explain to her, so that she could in turn explain to a club that is delving into the hidden mysteries of practical politics, what becomes of all the money represented by deficits in politics. I answered her question by stating that there are several pin factories in the United States, operated at full capacity night and day, and by inquiring where all the pins go.

Besides the physical front which disturbs one's banker, the deficit of a political organization presents a psychological front. It reveals a faith and a confidence in the cause—at times a consecration to it—a commendable enthusiasm and an eagerness to win. We shall not soon forget the California incident in the national campaign of 1916. The winning of a few hundred more of our people back to the Republican standard would have given Hughes the electoral vote of that State and thus made him our President during the World War. For the want of a nail the shoe was lost, and the horse and rider and Party were lost. One of our present day monumental deficits means that those who were held responsible by the Party for a victorious result in 1920 took no chances. These deficits are rarely imposing in their proportions, unless they are incurred by successful business men who are sojourning in politics temporarily. A lion in finance is a lamb in politics, quite as often as a giant in politics is a pigmy in business.

These comments are a digression which you should condone when you reflect that I had one foot in the Finance Committee of the recent national campaign and the other in the Finance Committee of the recent municipal campaign, and have had—and still have—trouble in both feet. I may have placed a too great emphasis upon the general subject of deficits, but you will understand that for once the subject has been treated in lighter vein.



Usually it is done in grays and drabs. The truth is that the whole subject of campaign funds receives public attention out of all proportion to the part such funds play in the results. Such funds are necessary and effective in the projection of propaganda, and they have many other legitimate uses. Speaking from a wide experience, and in entire seriousness, I say to you that in the long run political philosophy wins more battles than the war chest, and that the men who wear well in politics and are public assets for the long pull, are neither the money magnets—who attract it to the treasury—nor the almoners. The men who have faith in the things that money will not buy give our Party its background, its backbone, its vision and its stability.

The Club survived the ringing out of the old order in the grill room and the ringing in of the new, and weathered the seas which threatened three years ago to engulf us. We did it, in the main, by increasing the membership and enlarging the Club's horizon. That was possible of achievement in the critical days of that period, because it was realized that the Club had a serious purpose and a legitimate duty of citizenship to perform. It is more than a social club. Though not invested with special Party powers, it maintains accessories of useful politics and continues to associate itself with living problems of the hour. It has remained the rendezvous of militant Republicanism and has continued to fly the flag of our political faith. It has continued, also, those two time-honored institutions: One, the Saturday afternoon non-partisan discussions of current public problems, and, the other, the dinner on each successive anniversary of Lincoln's birth in celebration of the great facts of his life, and especially the fact that it was he who first gave utterance and cohesiveness to those doctrines and to those eternal principles upon which our Party was built and which have been the most potent influences in making the nation great.

During the three-year period under review, the Club participated in national affairs, actively and effectively. Throughout the Fall and Winter months preceding the great convention of 1920, appropriate committees prepared and we adopted reports upon a wide range of the larger public issues. Men in the front ranks of their callings were able through work done on those reports to serve by the wisdom of their counsels and the weight of their character. These reports were given wide currency, thus extending the advantage of the study to smaller clubs. They

were commended and utilized by important members of Congress. Generous portions of the arguments, conclusions and phraseology were embodied in the national platform. The full membership of the Club was alert and effective in the campaign which followed. Those were stirring and awakening days. One-sixth of all the money provided for the use of the National Committee in that campaign was contributed by our members. One of our members was elected President of the United States, and he, in turn, selected five fellow members for service in his notable Cabinet—Hughes, Hoover, Weeks, Mellen and Hays. Two of the four Disarmament Conference Commissioners are members here (one of them, Elihu Root, being an erudite ex-President of the Club). President Harding delighted the country by the elevation to the position of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of a life member of the Club, who is well-grounded and well-balanced in constitutional history, juristic theory and political philosophy. Fully fifty Federal positions of first importance were filled by the President from our ranks without noticeably reducing the average standing of the robust residue. The President may have thought he had skimmed the cream, but the lower stratum yields to none in point either of quality or of gravity. It should be said, although it seems unnecessary to say it, that not one of the half hundred men was chosen out of compliment to the Club, but all were chosen because they were eminent in their callings and in their capacities.

In the year 1920 the Club also rallied to the standard of the Republican nominee for Governor of New York State, Judge Nathan L. Miller. We are proud of that fact. Judge Miller belongs to the type of public leader and teacher who awakens and stimulates. He is genuinely concerned that we shall have public security, public order and public satisfaction. He is observant, reflective, resourceful; has a clear perception of the general tendencies and aspirations of the times, and combines with these the power to give exact and adequate expression. He is another honored member here, as are his associate State officials.

It is necessary to skip several steps in reviewing the march of events during the three-year period, but the foregoing are the broad outlines of the activities that have engaged the Club's attention, and this is the report of the stewardship not only of your retiring President, but of a host of loyal and efficient officers and active committee members to whom credit is due for the progress

that has been made. I am confident that you, President Elsberg, will find it to be the fact that your reliance will not be upon self, but upon the devoted headquarters staff. I predict that with the unabated enthusiasm and splendid co-operation of these officers under your vigilant, intelligent and patriotic leadership, the Club will advance to a broader and a higher field of service. My conscience will be clear if I can give to the new administration the same measure of sympathetic and helpful assistance that my predecessor—Mr. Bonyne—gave to me.

This is a good station at which to stop, and I know it. But I ask you to extend my time one minute.

I urged you in the summer of 1920 to put your faith in Warren G. Harding, and give to him, in the way of support, the best there was in you. I had known him more or less intimately for twenty-four years. I had seen him submit to tests by which the qualities of men are tried. Whenever and wherever it was struck, the metal of which he was made returned a true ring. He had served six years in the Senate, where he showed a sterling sense of public duty and where he broadened his conception to national scope. He became better versed than most legislators in the ways and difficulties of conducting the public business. That experience gave him a grasp of the practical affairs of the government. His greatest characteristic is a constant determination to do his full duty. His integrity of purpose, his solemn sense of the responsibilities and complexities attached to his great office, have, from the beginning of his administration, been recognized almost unanimously by fair-minded men without distinction of Party. He had all along promised some definite and pacific action, some positive and progressive action, toward an international understanding. It was a daring step to take, but he had reason to know and to fear that if he faltered all the horrors of war might soon have been upon us again. The portents were unmistakable. He insisted that the nation should expel from its mind the idea that all we had to do was to mark time. He proceeded with energy, resolution and faith to the work of securing world guarantees for the future. He presented in a concrete, well-defined and successful way what had been lying unexpressed in the general mind, with which mind he had been in close contact and full sympathy. And so he brought to a triumphant conclusion the most difficult and momentous achievement of a generation. Secretary Hughes deserves unstinted credit for his part in

it, but the primary responsibility was the President's. "His was the initiative; upon him would have fallen the burden of failure; and the best opinion of the nation gives him the award that is his due."

But we are told that in the midst of success the President is to be plunged into defeat; that in the campaign we are about to enter the people will discipline the Republican Party for the supposed and proposed sins of the Congress. If the President were up for re-election there would be no reason to be apprehensive, for he represents the spirit of our people; he is a summary of our times and of our people, and he is a commanding and a popular figure. Someone—I think it was John Morley—once said that Ireland tosses on her bed and finds relief in change. They say we are about to acquire a similar nervous, feverish habit. But change in the middle of a President's term does not bring relief to the nation, unless the administration is unworthy or untrustworthy. Change at such a time, flanking the administration with a hostile Congress, means blockade, deadlock, stalemate. In normal times a sane people would not deliberately divide their government against itself, but we must face the fact that a serious reaction follows every great war. As the recent upheaval was the most violent the world has ever felt, it stands to reason that the reaction that has followed it has not yet had time to run its course. The worst of war is that it unseats reason. By its very essence it is the disintegration of common fundamentals. It has bred what we term Bolshevism, has given a new stimulus to Socialism, and has diffused a tendency to justify and even to deify violence. The period of readjustment may prove to be the most protracted through which we have ever passed. It is conceivable that the unrest may produce a Democratic Congress, and thus tie the hands of the President for two years, and by that very act delay the return to normal conditions, for normal conditions are not reached at a single bound.

The President is earnestly engaged in restoring, day by day, sound and tested principles of government. The country should continue to give him affirmative and active support. We should resolve here and now to do our part. The restoration and preservation and progress of the State must be every man's concern.

My friends, I thank you. (Applause.)

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